/Pages 1-4 are title pages./

/5/

Preface

• 121 128 The objective of the present work is the anthropological study of the culture and acculturation of the Guaraní Indians living in Brazil. To be sure, it should be stressed from the outset that in these chapters there is no pretense of describing in a detailed way the tribal culture in its multiple material and non-material aspects. In order to do so, it would be necessary, not only to explore critically the very vast and rich literature on the ancient and modern Guaraní, accumulated since the times of the Conquest, but also to observe in the vicinity and for a sufficient time the variants and modalities of the culture of these Indians in all the present-day subgroups of the tribe (within and outside the national territory), to aim at a monographic elaboration of the accessible data. As necessary as a contribution of this order may be considered, it is not what is intended here. The objective of these pages, in a certain sense more modest and unpretentious, in another sense perhaps less so, is to capture, by presenting and discussing some fundamental aspects of the culture, the manner in which the processes of acculturation occur in the conflict between the Guaraní cultural configuration and diverse forms of life inherent in or in some way linked to Western civilization. Besides the ethnographic interest of the material presented, it seemed to me that this perspective is more properly an anthropological contribution for the dynamic and functional comprehension of the cultural processes. The aspects chosen for analysis are presented within a fuller, general framework, in which, in my opinion, should not be left out of consideration, among other things, an introductory chapter on the problem of the classification of the subgroups of the tribe and another one on the physical characteristics of the Guaraní.

/5 cont./

• 121 128 Notwithstanding the insights that would be procured, the comparison with other cultures, particularly tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní family, has been laid aside, save in a few exceptional cases. This because, instead of presenting a pluridimensional, complete, or exhaustive analysis of the culture, it seemed to me preferable to stay within a more restricted field. For this reason, I deemed it a good expedient to base myself principally on personal observations, presupposing that the reader has a knowledge /6/ of the existing bibliographical material, at least of the more accessible sources. Because of the nature of the work, there would be no great advantage in transcribing, reproducing, or summarizing what is to be read in the studies of Nimuendajú and other authors, ancient and modern, who wrote about the many Tupí-Guaraní tribes. On the other hand, the sources cannot be neglected, whenever one finds in them any elements indispensable for comprehending the main problem focused on here: the acculturation and concomitant detribalization of the present-day Guaraní in contact with foreign groups and cultures.

As I do not intend to present here a work of erudition, but rather an anthropological study based on the material collected on my travels, I thought it necessary to resist for the time being the temptation that arose at every step to discuss up to what point and in what sense my observations on this or that problem agreed with the other authors or not. Were it not for the position taken, it would have been easy to complete and augment a series of passages in the text, which, due to the force of circumstances, had to remain fragmentary. I have given up this expedient, for, if the essay would profit by it in one sense, it would lose in another one: the main objective would be sacrificed in the attempt at a monographic elaboration. On the other hand, the inclusion of a few details not very significant at first sight for an understanding of the central problem of the work seemed justified to the extent that it did not overload the text and fitted into the indispensable ethnographic framework of the questions formulated. Authors who might want to take up the subject will perhaps find there the concrete elements for the examination of other aspects of the phenomena of conservation and change, of intragroup homogenization, of differentiation, and other similar matters.

/6 cont./

121 128 As far as possible, the exposition is oriented in the direction of always allowing the reader to compare the characters that impress unity on the Guaraní tribal culture with the particular manifestations and the specialization of this culture within the peculiar system of each one of the subgroups or the various nuclei existing in Brazilian territory.

The methodological principle of this essay, in short, is characterized in the direction of an integrative description with regard to a knowledge of the tribal "ethos," based on a functional view of the acculturative processes. In order not to be entirely arbitrary, the choice of the aspects discussed could not be made until after a study of the culture as a whole. Strictly speaking, however, a different choice should in the final analysis reveal the same lines of Guaraní cultural dynamism. This means that the concept of fundamental aspects /7/ used here does not necessarily refer to nuclear elements or values, or to spheres of a detailed cultural elaboration, but to patterns and phenomena whose examination in conjunction with one another seems to show perhaps better than others the genuine and peculiar character of the system under appraisal. But it is also necessary to confess that a very powerful circumstantial factor also contributed to the choice: the greater or lesser consistency of the material collected in the field.

The effort spent in the elaboration sought to reconcile in some way the functionalist attitude with the typological characterization, or at least with the ideographic characterization, of the cultural configuration. In order not to lengthen the text unnecessarily, there was no attempt to make explicit some conclusions of a general nature, the direction of which the anthropologist can easily perceive from the very presentation of the elements observed. It is obvious that the way in which the data are given -- when it is not a matter of simple reporting or "anthropological empirism" -- not only presupposes a theoretical position, but is theory. And that is what one has in view when it is claimed that in a scientific work the facts "speak for themselves." To the degree that one can present them in such a way

/7 cont./

121 128 that the conjunction comes to have a signification within certain scientific premises, and that this signification is evidenced by the objective description itself, it seems possible to reduce the discussion of theories to a minimum, unless this discussion is the purpose of the work.

114 101 [12] This study is based on research done among Indians of Guaraní idiom from different parts of Brazil. Initiated in June of 1946, the work was extended, with many and long interruptions, almost to the day of publication. I made various visits to three native villages on the Paulista coast: Rio Branco, Bananal, and Itariri; furthermore, I had repeated contacts with Indians from these villages in the cities of São Vicente and São Paulo. I have not been to the present village of Rio Comprido (Serra dos Itatins), but I met its inhabitants when they were still living in Itariri. I also worked in the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, formerly Araribá, in the vicinity of the city of Bauru; and I collected some material among the Guaraní of Palmeirinha (Lower Iguaçú region in western Paraná), as well as among those of Laranjinha in the Xapecó region in the "far-west" of Santa Catarina. I lived with the Indians of the tribe, particularly the Kayová subgroup, in various nuclei of southern Mato Grosso: Dourados, Panambi, Amambai, Taquapiri, and Jacareí, the latter made up of families of the Ñandéva subgroup. It was not possible for me to become familiar with some other equally important villages, /8/ such as, for example, Guarita, in Rio Grande do Sul. -- Early this year I have visited, accompanied by Mr. León Cadogan, the Mbüá-Guaraní of Paso Yovai (Yrovái) in eastern Paraguay.

The advantage gained from the large number of nuclei visited and from the frequency of the contacts in a multiplicity of situations is counterbalanced, unfortunately, by the brief duration of my stays in the various settlements. The longest period of uninterrupted work at one single village was a stay of four weeks among the Indians of Dourados in July of 1950.

/13 cont./

One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbüá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multiplicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

Bananal, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbüá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

/20 cont./

121 177 Thus, from village to village the acculturative experience of the Guaranf Indians assumes specific forms in accordance with the variation of the factors, which gives the investigator the possibility of investigating what is constant and common among them, and what manifestations are due to the contingencies of particular situations. In sum: the Guaranf perhaps represent among the Indians of today the most appropriate example for studying the variety of acculturative and anti- or contra-acculturative reactions of a certain original configuration, as well as the importance of the factors that interfere in the process.

121 184 /21/ In spite of all this, however, the attempt to study the Guaranf culture as a unit perhaps seems bold. With equal justification one could speak of three, four, or more Guaranf cultures. The populations that speak some Guaranf dialect differ from one another, as has already been shown, in many aspects of the economic life, social organization, religious system, and other sectors of the culture. But, beyond these undeniable differences, there is a common ground of identical or similar elements, by virtue of which all the bands appear as a unit in contrast to other tribes included in the Tupf-Guaranf family. Since the dividing [114] line between cultures and subcultures is not necessarily drawn from well-defined objective criteria, applied with mathematical rigor, so to speak, the classifications of the tribes tend to vary from author to author, according to the theoretical position and the knowledge of each of them. Besides, the choice of certain problems for field research and further scientific discussion not infrequently makes differences, which from other points of view might perhaps be scorned, appear important, while, conversely, pushing into neglect similarities that from a different perspective would be discovered to be of capital importance.

[177] Now the effort to study the culture, or rather certain particular aspects of the social organization and religious system of some groups of Guaranf speech in their reaction to situations of contact with populations of Iberic ancestry, leads to the conviction that

/21 cont./

• 121
184
177

the similarities in the religious system and in the social organization, especially with regard to the stamp that they impress on the acculturative process, go beyond the range that the differences in those and in other cultural spheres might have. In this sense, at least, the diversity assumes secondary importance, determining mere façades or variants of a single configuration. Clearly there is nothing against trying to understand the specific nature of each one of the subcultures; this, however, is becoming more and more difficult, for the migrations have in part erased the original differences. In some nuclei, the living together of Ñandéva, Mbüá, and Kayová families has led to such an intense process of homogenization (as, for example, in the village of Araribá) that in these groups today it becomes impossible to distinguish with the necessary rigor the dividing lines between one subculture and another. On the other hand, the high degree of secondary differentiation that has taken place in the various villages, and which makes it clear that the same values and the same basic tendencies of a culture can find expression and concretization in patterns and institutions entirely different at first sight, is surprising. It seemed /22/ preferable to me, from all this, to study the conglomeration as a whole, trying to see first of all what this has in common and characteristically in some of its basic aspects and in its reactions to the contacts with diverse cultures, particularly of rural type.

/The notes for Chapter I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source; p. 24 is blank./

/49 cont./

243 824 too. The red maize avatĩ pukú pỹtã, gives "strength" to the white maize, so that the latter will have big and heavy ears. [173] Djakairá was a Kayová Indian who received the white saboró maize from the hands of the "Vírgen de los Milagres," in Caácupé, Paraguay, when he was fleeing from the forces of Lopez. -- An 243 824 121 abstraction made from the end, perhaps born in the brain of the informant himself, the whole explanation, despite not being very convincing, and not corresponding very well to the demands of our logic, seems to have the merit of showing that the familiarity of the Guaraní with maize and its cultivation, going back perhaps to very ancient times, gives him a perfect notion of the phenomena of degeneration characteristic of this domestic plant. In the impossibility of explaining satisfactorily and in a rational way the empirical data that nevertheless impose themselves on his mind in the form of a "scientific" problem to be solved, the Indian makes use of representations from his supernatural world, but, for that reason, without being satisfied with a solution remaining entirely on the plane of mythical ideas, very much to the taste incidentally, of Guaraní mentality.

243 796 All the activities that refer to the production of maize constitute or may constitute the opportunity for religious ceremonies, particularly among the Kayová. It seems that the frequency of the ceremonies and the special situations in which they should be held depend on the decision and /50/ the criterion of the respective paí or doctor-sorcerer. One paí of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim [115] Constant in Amambai described to me a whole mongaraí sequence (ceremonies, blessings, "baptisms"), a real ceremonial cycle [192] [824] paralleling that of the tilling of maize. Angá is "to give the blessing," an act that in the village referred to takes place in eight different phases: before the clearing is burned (djadjapó rosá roráangá, let us give the blessing of the clearing); on the eve of the beginning of the planting (djahá angá ñanderosá kaýguê, let us go to baptize the burned clearing); when the maize is about half a meter tall, that is, when it is a matter of combatting the hũ a só, an insect that eats the leaves (djahá ñañembo'é ñandé avatĩ rũ arasoré); when the kernel is forming, a time when "rust"

/57 cont./

423 [191] Now this explanation given by Batirayu is valid, ipsis litteris, for all the Guaraní groups, as far as I have been able to observe them. Any abandoned clearing whatsoever continues to be a "possession" of whomever made it; at Araribá, for instance, I met Indians who considered themselves owners of "possessions" in Bananal, where they had lived many years earlier.

476 178 An unequivocal index of the degree of social disorganization of the majority of Guaraní communities is the progressive abandonment of the patterns of collective work. It is a direct consequence of the individualization of economic preoccupations. On the other hand, the successive intermeshing of the native groups in the regional caboclo economy leads to the re-establishment of the cooperative work, but in a pattern already modified.

• 121 177 476 829 Several authors have dealt with investigating the historico-cultural origins of the Brazilian mutirão or puxirão; there are some among them who grant that there is a confluence of native, Iberic, and African elements in the caboclo institution. It is not suitable to discuss the problem, difficult of solution, here. In any case, 476 171 one cannot deny the Amerindian filiation of the mutirão, already revealed by the sources of the chronicles, as well as by its own denomination of Tupí-Guaraní origin; for example, puxirõ (Kayová), puxirũ (Mbüá), apatxirũ (Tapirapé). Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the name aiomoóita as the designation for mutirão. Among the tribes of this linguistic family, the collective work of clearing seems to have been quite generalized. But Brazilian tribes of other classifications, such as the Bakairí /Bacairi/ (9),

9. /From p. 64 of the original source./ This is what is understood, for instance, from the description given by Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 102-103.

also knew or knew institutions of this type.

/73 cont./

of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized government of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, -- on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief -- ñanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

/75 cont./

582 171 Concerning the preferential marriage of the maternal uncle with his niece, noted for other tribes of the Tupi-Guaraní linguistic family (5),

> 5. /From p. 84 of the original source./ As for the Tupinambá, there seems to be no doubt but that they were familiar with the avuncular marriage; the Jesuit sources above all insist on the fact, there even being a kind of mythical foundation in a text by Father Cardim concerning the Deluge: "for it is said that the waters drowned and killed all the men, and that only one of them escaped on the high point of a Janipaba /genipap tree/ with his sister, who was pregnant, and from these two was their beginning, and thus began their multiplication" (Cardim, 582 1939, p. 142). -- With reference to the contemporaneous Kayová, the problem of marriage with the maternal uncle was taken up by Virginia Drew Watson, 1944. See also J. B. Watson, 1952.

582 •121 I have not found any clear, credible, and unequivocal data among the Guaraní of any of the three subgroups. Information about its possibility were contradictory, which may perhaps be an indication of a pattern formerly in existence and now abandoned, or in the process of it. The fact is that the statements on the subject were made in general with little certainty, and that in reality I have found no concrete case of such a marriage. The information about this type of union in ancient times was also very vague: while some categorically denied having any knowledge of avuncular marriage, either as an institution or as a fortuitous case, others admitted it, but likewise the union of the niece 582 with the paternal uncle. Referring to the Ñandéva and Kayová, Marçal de Souza maintains that such unions are considered impossible, for one's nephews and nieces, the children of both

2: Schaden--101 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter VI

States of Crisis in Guaraní Life

121 571 829 182

The social rhythm of Guaraní life stems not only from the annual "ecological cycle," but also from the regular sequence or more or less fortuitous appearance of crisis situations, which sometimes concern the group in its totality, sometimes more precisely certain persons because of the position that falls to them in the social structure. The crisis situations, because of the danger involved in them for certain elements of the community or for the whole group, demand special treatment, according to norms and rites established by tradition. In the existence of the individual, birth, biological maturation, illnesses, the birth of children, and death are the principal times of crisis. For the group as a whole, special situations, such as the harvest of the first green maize, epidemics, journeys, and other events in some way disrupt the equilibrium of daily life and demand or may demand ritual measures.

783 828

Not all crisis situations require identical precautions. The most important ones are those in which the person involved is given the special designation of (h)akú or odjékóakú, being subject to the danger of sexual enchantment, which is called odjépotá; the Mbüá also speak of karuguá. The conjunction of measures that the person should take is called "resguardo" /caution, defense preventive measures/ in Portuguese; in Guaraní one simply says that So-and-So is akú. Akú is the state of the father (and among the Mbüá that of the mother as well) during the first days after the birth of the child, the girl during her first menstruation is akú, and, finally (among the Kayová), the boy during the days that follow the lip piercing. -- We also find the term resguardo /this word is not italicized in the original source/ in texts about the ancient Tupinambá, where it is said in "resguardo do matador" /the caution of the murderer/.

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbarakâ. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbûá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

121 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
75 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times; otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

2: Schaden--130 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/107/

Chapter VIII

Fundamental Elements of the Religion and of the Conception of the World

77
121

1. General characterization of the Guaraní religion confronted by Christianity

In the anthropological study of the religion, in the sense that this is being attempted here, one is not as interested in describing the religious system as in determining the connections and influences that tie human existence, individual and collective, to a certain interpretation of the supernatural, that is, in what way the religion is shown to be responsible for certain characteristics of other cultural spheres and for the formation of dominant traits of the personality.

A fundamental element of all religion is the appraising attitude in confronting earthly life with reference to the destiny of man. Religious systems differ from one another primarily in the way that their doctrines diverge in the interpretation of human existence, an interpretation that is connected with the nature attributed to the gods and the different categories of supernatural beings, with the manner in which the origin of human life is conceived and, in particular, in which the multiple relations between man and the divinities are viewed in the most varied situations of the existence of the group and of the individual.

Religion, the domain of the "sacred," is not infrequently confused with magic and with morality. In fact, there are many points of contact among these three categories of the socio-cultural reality, which, nevertheless, differ radically from one another on a theoretical plane, although in some way they always appear interdependent. One of the essential characteristics of morality is the appraisal of human actions, including feelings and thoughts; it is the notion of good and evil. For its part, what distinguishes the magical rite from the religious ceremony is -- as Max Weber and others have very well shown -- their /108/ nature of "technique"; the religious attitude and life,

77
121

/108 cont./ on the other hand, are set much more in the emotional sphere, where the individual recognizes his dependence in the face of powers, personal or not, that are superior to him (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./ Having been discussed innumerable times by anthropologists of the most varied orientations, this subject is too general to be taken up again here. Everything is summed up in the possibility of finding theoretically valid criteria of distinction between magic, religion, and morality -- although it is recognized beforehand that we do not have at our disposal satisfactory means of analysis in order to establish the dividing lines in the treatment of concrete material. With reference to the problem, we find particularly promising perspectives in the article by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 1943, as well as in some works by Ed. A. Jensen (1949a, b, 1950).

77
121
577

Why is there always a close relationship between the religious domain and the moral one? Is it because human actions -- good or bad -- are regarded as having a direct influence on human destiny -- happy or unhappy --, an influence that may come about in two ways. First, simply as natural causality: bad actions bring about final disgrace, just as any poisonous substance may cause sickness or death. Or then, in the second place, there may be the idea of actions good or bad (metaphysically), stemming from the free will of the individual; they are judged by a deity, that is to say, considered in relation to certain values.

577

The Guaraní distinguishes good and bad actions, good and bad individuals, but in his original doctrine he does not recognize moral responsibility, except vaguely. The individual is good or bad by nature, as by "fate." There is not really free will, because the "genius," the natural disposition, the innate qualities, oblige him to act in a certain way. A typical

/109 cont./

181
177
797

to know about your remedies, nor do I want to know anything about your God or about your baptism. I do not want to live here with you. What do you care whether we are sick and die, that every day we are less numerous? Do not concern yourself about us.' -- This is more or less how they spoke to us, after they had overcome their fear of us and had seen that we were inoffensive. A pleasant remark made to an old idler had the echo: 'Well, if you only want to live with good people, do not come to be with us; this is how we are. If we cannot remain as we are, then we cannot live with you. What is it that you are saying about being good? Well, I do not want to be good.'" Müller, 1919.

771
121
797
177

Aside from the opposing points, like what has just been mentioned, there are clearly others at which an approximation between the religious systems becomes possible or even easy on the basis of common elements, similarities or mere analogies. From the sociological point of view, the phenomenon of religious leadership stands out, an aspect in which the organization of the Jesuit state collided with the Guaraní tribal tradition. In the matter of the doctrine properly speaking, however, it would not have been very difficult to remove the contradiction existing between the primitive polytheism and the adventitious monotheism; the different spirits of the tribal religion would correspond, on the one side, to the angels and saints, and, on the other, to the attributes of God presented by the missionary, which would easily be personified, one by one, leading in addition to an unfolding of so many independent divinities: the Creator, the Omniscient, etc. Similarly, the doctrine of the good and bad inclinations of the soul would lead to either an identification with two souls, one good and the other bad, or it would collide with the primitive dualism or pluralism of the human soul. /110/ Today, therefore, one would not always be able to distinguish between phenomena simply of religious convergence and others of direct influence.

/110 cont./

771 184 personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms -- obviously on the common doctrinal foundation -- his own conception of the world, his interpretive system, with more or less "heterodox" innovations or "aberrations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to León Cadogan, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mbüá of Paraguay, there is a notable rigidity and uniformity in the conjunction of the private, secret doctrines of the doctor-sorcerers, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

[177] [62] Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs should be interpreted in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migrations, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even so far as the three subgroups.

2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul

771 774 • 121 According to Guaraní doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the Guaraní conceives it -- that is, his primitive Psychology -- constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

774 842 On the other hand, the notion of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning conception.

The ideas concerning the connection existing between conception and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former [191] is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being realized for the Ñandéva preferably by way of the dream, an explanation which, by the way, is also accepted by aborigines of

2: Schaden--170 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/130 cont./

753 121 [182] [179] It is well known that the phenomenon of cultural disintegration, as the product of interethnic contacts, is manifested, among other things, by the parallel acceptance of two or more solutions for the same problem, of various concommitant elements with the same function, it falling on the individual from case to case to decide in favor of this one or that one. It is in relation to sicknesses and to their treatment that such a state of affairs is revealed with special clarity in Guaraní life. This perhaps primarily because of the focalization, more and more accentuated, that the sickness, real or imaginary, comes to have in the Guaraní mind, undoubtedly in consequence of a psychic flight before an unsatisfactory reality, the fruit of a state of constant frustration. And as the traditional patterns of the culture do not offer elements considered sufficient for facing the problem thus created, there is also recourse to others of foreign derivation. The ideas about the ontology and etiology of the sicknesses, as well as about the methods of cure, thus cease to constitute an integrated whole, but form a conjunction of disparate elements, so to speak. The culture seems to lose one of its primordial functions up to a certain point, that of providing the group and the particular individuals with the resources for sure and satisfactory control over phenomena that go beyond the simple biological reaction. Ideas, beliefs, and explanations of diverse origins, and arising in cultural contexts of different types, strike against one another in the minds of these poor people, producing a mental state /131/ of insecurity and sometimes almost of despair. Capitão Bento, former chief of the village of Bananal, suffered from malaria (without, of course, identifying the illness) and thought the ailment was due to physiological disturbances caused in a "natural" manner by some quid malignum, which in some form or other had penetrated his body. His mother settled on the hypothesis of black magic practiced by some personal enemy with the help of a picture that had fallen into his hands. For his part, Samuel, brother of the sick man, was more inclined to believe in the

753 159 121 [754] [177]

/131 cont./

possibility of "some spirit invoked into him," an idea perhaps of Amerindian origin, but possibly reinforced by contact with the spiritism of the civilized inhabitants of the coast. As it could not fail to be, the same insecurity is observed in the choice of the methods of cure, magico-medicinal as well as religious, and of the specialists, who are either doctor-sorcerers of the same tribe, or civilized "curers," or even doctors possessing an official diploma.

The quid malignum cause of the sickness may be any foreign body or poisonous substance or of another form harmful to health, such as pebbles, seeds, ugly worms, or even fire. If in fact it has entered the body as a consequence of black magic, the doctor-sorcerer does not get to do anything about it until he discovers the one responsible, so as to attack him with counter-sorcery. This among the Kayová at least. If, however, the quid malignum entered the body in a natural way, i.e., without there being any unconfessable purposes on the part of ill-intentioned individuals, whether it be by carelessness, by the unfortunate conjunction of adverse circumstances, or by the manifestation of certain deities whose appearance is linked with certain times of the year, the removal can be made either by the technique of the doctor-sorcerer, by the use of appropriate medicines, by means of practices performed by the patient himself, or, finally, with the help of religious ceremonies.

The attitude of the present-day Guaraní, particularly that of the Ñandéva of the coastal villages, toward sicknesses and death is characterized by a peculiar combination of fatalism and -- though we say it with due reserve -- Christian resignation. Capitão Bento's daughter was ill; her father took her to Dr. Militão, a physician of São Vicente or Santos, who prescribed a series of remedies for her. But in the end the child died. "It is because she had to die," was Bento's simple explanation. And Bento's mother added: "When a person has to die, treatment is not worth anything; when a person does not have to die, Ñandedjára himself carries the person through. When it is

/158 cont./

776 one only hears its whistle, which inspires fear; it never speaks with anyone, has a human appearance, and is provided with two legs, but small, blackish (therefore also known as kambá ñ); it does not smoke. -- The Kayová variant, collected in Benjamim Constant, seems already to have been subjected to Brazilian or Paraguayan cultural influences. There the name is xaxim-taterê, a being described as a boy about five years of age, two legs, and just like a child, even the features. It manifests itself by a shrill whistle, which makes anyone who hears it shiver and shake; it is not heard in the middle of the forest, but only on the paths (numen viarum!). When the xaxim-taterê whistles, one must not mock it, not doubt its existence; otherwise it appears, armed with a stick, to punish anyone who does not believe in it or who hoots at it. There are xaxim-taterê with white skin and others with black skin; there is no mention of xaxim-taterê with bronze skin. It is considered a kind of night guard, pyharê rupiguá. Its magical force is in the little stick that it carries with it. If the little stick is taken away from it, it loses the power that it possesses. It greatly likes smoking and drinking. If a person wants to see it, it suffices to put a bottle of drink and a little tobacco at the place where the whistle is heard. To make the xaxim-taterê drunk is the means for taking the stick from it. -- It is 776 177 obvious that the primitive native representation has been transformed there, as a result of cultural contacts. Nevertheless, it cannot be identified with the saci common in the region, among the rural population of Iberian origin, who, as they told me, is a one-legged, little black boy, a whistler, with a little horn on the forehead, and stealer of fair children.

[184] [177]

773 • 121 It would certainly be an interesting task for a folklorist to collect and analyze the popular tales incorporated into the patrimony /159/ of the various Guaraní groups. I have only noted some examples, in part from the native language. I want to discuss them in another work. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I have had an opportunity to observe the extraordinary attention with which the Indians listen to the caboclo tales told by the mestizo Leocádio de Oliveira, and the insistence with which they obliged him to go on with the narrative when by chance it was interrupted.

2: Schaden--207 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/162 cont./ Under the direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820, started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate surroundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements continue, at least among the Mbüá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over oxcart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloísa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

171
+177 Ashluslay were in the happy position of being able to derive advantages from the Whites without falling into irretrievable poverty.[1]

+177 There is an interesting question as to what might be the long-run differ-
• 121 ences between tribes of the same or near-identical culture, when one has been rapidly acculturated and the other more slowly and less intensively. An hypothetically ideal situation would be one in which all factors, except the rapidity and intensity of exposure, were equal—the same culture in the two aboriginal groups, the same alien cultural influences playing upon them in the same way, and the same ultimate amount of influence. Even in such a situation, however, there probably would still be some final acculturational differences between the two groups. Though such a situation is ideal, this problem is not entirely hypothetical. The Cayuá (at least those of Brazil) are now subject to intense influences, comparable to those experienced by the Guarani to the south in the early contact period; on the other hand, the modern survivors of the more southerly Guarani peoples apparently are now less intensively subject to white influences than their northern cousins. If we were to find significant differences in the amount and quality of acculturation in these two groups, it would suggest that rate of acculturation—all other things equal—was partly responsible.

127 Cayuá culture itself is negligibly reported in the literature of ethnography to date. Although this study refers directly to a single Cayuá village, some of its implications would hold for other Cayuá groups and possibly for closely related groups of Tupi-Guarani. Despite the fact that in the 16th and 17th centuries certain Tupi-Guarani tribes were probably among the best and most extensively reported native peoples in the New World—particularly the Coastal tribes of Brazil—relatively little has since been done with living Tupi-Guarani peoples. We have little idea of aboriginal variations among these related tribes, or of the changes resulting from their contact with European culture. Many hints remain unelaborated and many questions still unsolved, even for the rather well known tribes of early European contact. Since the Coastal Tupí are no more, we can only turn to present surviving Tupi-Guarani peoples for some of our answers.

It is necessary to give some indication of the kind and amount of data available for this study before describing the way in which the material was used. (The specific sources are indicated later on, when references are first made to them.) Pertaining directly to the Cayuá, past or present, only the meagerest of literature exists, as far as the writer was able to ascertain. No single definitive monograph is known for any period of their culture history, only a few short articles, some so general as to be of little use. References to the Cayuá in the earliest chronicles of the discovery and exploration of eastern South America are infrequent. The reason is apparent since the Cayuá

[1] Cited in *Handbook of South American Indians*, 1948, 1: 212.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

were not in the immediate path of conquest and for a long time remained apart from all but the slightest of contact with the Europeans. Coming down to the time of the Jesuits, 1610–1768, fleeting references can be found here and there to peoples who may have been Cayuá or closely related to them. Thus, for the early period of colonization there is little information which deals directly with the Cayuá, though the conclusion is apparently justified that much material on closely related peoples applies also to the Cayuá with little modification. Several early writers imply such a point of view, and Rengger's journal in the early 19th century seems to reinforce the idea. This authority makes quite evident the similarity of Cayuá to other Guarani cultures—a similarity by no means obscured even today. The period of the turn of the last century brings us several more short accounts pertaining to the Cayuá, including two by reputable ethnologists, von Koenigswald and Ambrosetti.

In connection with the type of white contact the Cayuá experienced, the available history of the area again provides little that is direct. It is possible to get some idea of what kinds of white men were there, roughly their numbers, and something of their motives. But there is little documentation to establish the nature, place, and time of the contact of these whites with Cayuá. With significant and tantalizing gaps, of course, the general trend of contact can be drawn. However, in part it is necessary to use the present state of Cayuá culture as evidence of past contact; in other words, the nexus, often missing from the historical record, can sometimes be supplied from the present ethnography. The result is very sketchy at best.

The ethnography of this people today is our most important source of information. Besides a description of the present culture, at least those cultural aspects which were our primary concern in the field, modern data can be coupled with some of the more meager clues from older documents to yield reasonably secure information about the Cayuá past. Moreover, with the present culture for a control, a certain use can also be made of comparative material from the better known Coastal Tupi and other Tupí-Guarani peoples of the early contact period. Thus much peripheral information of an earlier date, information not by itself acceptable in reference to the Cayuá, can be turned to fair profit.

The present discussion of acculturation is confined mainly to salient aspects of change in technology, ecology, economy, and social organization, while practically no attention is given to religion. One reason for this limitation is the amount and type of field work. On the other hand, the implications of our data did not seem to lead necessarily to a study of change in the religious sphere. In other words, we were able to carry on our work in a satisfactory manner without devoting a great deal of attention to religion—although not denying that related changes probably exist in that sector.

One point of concentration of the present work is economic change, including the effect on a non-commercial economy of the inception and growth of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

• 121 commercialism. In this, the relations of such economic changes to other aspects of culture are involved, but particularly relations to social organization. Not a great deal is known in detail about acculturative economic change of simple cultures and how it comes about.

In the field of the economic life of peoples who are living under contact few studies have been published. That the repercussions from the introduction of money into a non-pecuniary economy are widespread is recognized by all who have dealt with situations in which this had occurred, and some real attempts have been made to work out the resulting cultural realignments.[3]

The definition of acculturation adopted here is the now well nigh standard one:

Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.[3]

This definition obviously does not restrict acculturational phenomena merely to the borrowing—unilateral or mutual—of alien culture traits. Such a restriction is, in fact, specifically disclaimed:

It is . . . to be differentiated from diffusion, which while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only a phenomenon which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the type of contact between peoples specified in the definition given above, but also constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation.[4]

Diffusion and borrowing of culture traits, therefore, are only one aspect of the process of acculturation, but in spite of this, they are frequently taken to be the *primary* type of acculturative phenomena. Thus there is much emphasis on trait borrowing in the literature; other phenomena are often, by implication, treated as of less immediacy in the process of acculturation.

In this paper it is maintained that simple trait borrowing or diffusion is not necessarily the most important or primary factor in the acculturational process. Among the Cayuá, as will be shown later, what we may broadly term *conditions* were of great importance as factors of acculturation. One such "condition," for example, is the restriction in the size of Cayuá territory and the mobility of the people, as a result of the coming of whites in increasing numbers. This is certainly no "trait" of white culture in the orthodox sense and surely not one that the Cayuá "borrowed." Yet restriction of territory and mobility was a more effective causal agent in Cayuá acculturation than many borrowed European culture traits. Thus, apart from the more obvious trait-borrowing, a number of "conditions" resulting from the European advent have been referred to herein as primary factors in the acculturational process.

---

[3] Herskovits, 1938, pp. 126-27.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 10. The definition was drawn up by Herskovits, Linton and Redfield.

[4] *Ibid.*

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

The present monograph is organized as follows. Chapter I provides the geographical, demographic, ethnological, and environmental setting. Chapter II summarizes what are known and what are presumed to be the facts of the aboriginal culture of the Cayuá, as well as such a reconstruction can now be made. Chapter III deals with the history of the region since the first years of white discovery, exploration, and settlement. In many respects, the facts of that history, as already noted, cannot now be specifically connected with the Cayuá. But their implications are certain enough to make the historical sketch of some general value. Chapter IV is concerned with a summary of Cayuá culture at the present time, emphasizing primarily points of difference from the aboriginal culture.

Chapter V, the analysis of Cayuá acculturational change, may be less conventional. Space and time factors are taken largely for granted and there is an almost purely configurational or structural examination of the material. This is done first by recognizing and listing the factors which have been called "acculturational causes." Some of these are of the familiar type, such as the presentation of traits which the indigenes borrowed from the alien culture. Others are not "traits" of either culture, in the usual sense, but are rather the conditions resulting from the coming of the whites, those which are significant to the nature of the two cultures. These conditions have had certain effects in the cultural development of the Cayuá, but might have affected another culture differently—or perhaps not at all.

The analysis continues with a list of "primary or immediate acculturational effects" and a separate list of "secondary or derived acculturational effects." The distinction here lies between developments in Cayuá culture which occurred in *immediate response* to acculturational causes and developments, ultimately related to the same acculturational causes, which were not immediate but only secondary. There are also some general temporal implications of the distinction: the secondary effects are derivative, as a rule, and do not appear in some cases for a considerable time after their initial causes are present in the situation. The distinction between primary and secondary effects is discussed in greater detail in Chapter V.

As far as its historiographical implications are concerned, the analysis attempted here is in some respects reminiscent of Kroeber's idea of what is important in history.[9] The de-emphasis of chronology as the cardinal feature or "value" of history and the "endeavor to achieve a conceptual integration of phenomena while preserving the quality of the phenomena" seem to characterize the present method. (On the other hand, there is not much doubt that certain aspects of the present approach, such as the prominent assessment of "cause," the analytical and schematic quality, and the emphasis on process, are not in keeping with what Kroeber had in mind.) However, the writing of Cayuá history *per se* is largely incidental to our present purposes.

[9] Kroeber, 1935.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

II. CAYUÁ CULTURE IN THE PAST

121 IN this account of Cayuá culture in the past, "the past" is taken as roughly the time of the European entry, before any considerable alien influence was felt by the Guarani-speakers of the Paraguayan area. The description is partly based on comparative material, that is, contemporary accounts of other Guarani groups; there is no extensive contemporary account of the Cayuá but only random references to them or to peoples who might be Cayuá. It is almost certain, too, that the term "Cayuá" (or its equivalents) was not being widely applied in the early colonial period to the forebears of the people in question.

127 121 The present description also depends in part on a few, brief, later accounts, Rengger,[33] at the beginning of the 19th century, and von Koenigswald,[34] Sampaio,[35] and Ambrosetti[36] at the turn of the century. Müller[37] and Strelnikov,[38] whose work was done in the early 20th century, are also of some help in reconstruction. Rengger, in particular, and von Koenigswald and Sampaio to a lesser extent, all bear out the contention of great basic similarity between the Cayuá people and their Guarani-speaking neighbors. This certainly puts us on safer ground as far as being able to use comparative material for reconstructing Cayuá culture. It is possible to pick up an early account, even of the coastal Tupí of Brazil, and go down the list of cultural elements, checking off the majority which appear to have been in a general sense common among Cayuá. In the opinion of the writer, due caution has been exercised where aspects of Cayuá aboriginal culture were probably similar to other Tupi-Guarani cultures but where we do not have sufficient material to judge with finality.

ECONOMY

174* 241 433 The Cayuá, like their relatives, were primarily agricultural people, as early as we have any information about them. They practiced much the same type of tropical forest agriculture as the Tupinambá groups of the Brazilian coast and must have been nearly identical in agriculture with their Guarani neighbors in Paraguay. Métraux has argued that the agriculture of the Tupi-Guarani peoples in the Paraguay region was somewhat different, as to the importance of the various plants basic to it, from that of the more 174* northerly tribes near the equator.[39] It has been said, for instance, that corn 243 was more important to the southern groups and manioc to the northern groups, 244 because of environmental differences. However, such differences in agriculture were usually of degree, though perhaps significant. Manioc was, from every 433

184 [33] Rengger, 1835. [34] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [35] Sampaio, 1890.
[36] Ambrosetti, 1894 [37] Müller, 1934-35.
[38] Strelnikov, 1928. [39] Métraux, 1928, pp. 65 ff.; p. 102.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

IV. CAYUÁ CULTURE: THE PRESENT

SINCE points of acculturational change are primarily stressed in our study, this chapter is limited to matters in which the present Cayuá differ significantly from the past. But, while no complete description is anticipated here, the main outlines of the modern culture of the Cayuá (at Taquapiri, specifically) should nevertheless become apparent.[123] As much as possible, the various aspects of modern culture will be presented in this chapter in the same order as corresponding aspects of the aboriginal Cayuá described in Chapter II. However, where not merely modifications of the aboriginal but clear additions have been made, the earlier sequence cannot be strictly adhered to.

Only *results* of the acculturational process, as it has so far been effective, are discussed here, not the factors of acculturation in the causal sense. Thus, to take a simple case, metal tools and what metal tools mean in the present technology are noted. How the Cayuá obtained these tools, the factor of acculturation in this given instance, is not the question for the moment. To cite another example, it is pointed out that Cayuá agriculture is quite different in a number of respects from what it used to be; for one thing, it has become relatively much more important in the total economy than formerly. But in this chapter the reasons for the transformation are not discussed. The analysis of acculturation in terms of the factors affecting and effecting it, the processes which led to the present culture, will be left for Chapter V. For the moment we are merely interested in what 1943 Cayuá culture looks like, as compared to the old.

ECONOMY

Technology and Material Culture

The most notable technological change from the past is with respect to the adoption of certain metal implements which the Cayuá obtain from the whites. In order of their importance, these metal tools are machetes (usually called by this Spanish name, although Portuguese *facão* is also occasionally used), axes, and hoes (both also called by their Spanish or Portuguese names). The adopted implements are used primarily in agriculture, although they also have other applications. There has been a complete replacement of aboriginal implements formerly used for work which can now be accomplished by these metal tools, and this must have happened a considerable time ago since there are scarcely any traditions of the older tools.[124] The importance of the machete

[123] An ethnographic monograph is being written which will provide many details in which the present paper, for the reason of its particular concern, may be lacking.

[124] One informant—not an elder—told the writer that he had heard that in the old days some sort of stone axes and hoes were used, but he didn't know what kind of "machete" there might have been. Probably there was no aboriginal equivalent for the machete, so that this is a pure addition rather than a substitution of a more efficient modern implement.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

in exchange. What would be the effect on the aboriginal joint production and distribution system of the exchange of joint produce for articles which were to be individually used? Could one well take corn from joint household stores to exchange for a machete which primarily would be his own? There was thus a tendency to produce individually goods which were to be bartered for benefits enjoyed individually.

In the *changa* the problem of trade goods is more simply resolved. An individual can more easily exchange his services for individual compensation than he can goods which are jointly produced. It is likely, furthermore, that the exchange of services for trade goods in the *changa* preceded any significant exchange of Cayuá produce for trade goods. Thus the ground may well have been broken for some individualization of production before the people actually began to trade their corn and other produce.

To sum up the reasons for a growing individualization of work, particularly in agriculture, the *changa* and trade with Neo-Brazilians are both conducted along lines in which individual work is almost exclusively involved. In the second place, they both imply certain conflicts, especially regarding distribution of goods, with aboriginal forms of joint or cooperative labor and production. These conflicts, together with the technical feasibility of individual work, have been important causes of the decrease of joint and cooperative labor and production.

With reference to housebuilding, one other activity where modern individualization is noted, it will merely be registered here that a change from joint and cooperative work to more highly individual work has apparently occurred among the Cayuá, as a result of acculturational factors. Housebuilding activities are intimately connected with the complex of causes and effects to be discussed with (II. B. e.) the decrease in size of the production and consumption units. Analysis of the present point, then, will be left until later.[183]

II. B. e. "Production-consumption group: size and composition of basic unit shift from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are (1) a change to small house types, and (2) a modification of dwelling patterns (at Taquapiri), re location of house near *kokué*." The change of the basic social unit has two broad aspects, (a) the feasibility of the elementary family, and (b) the desirability of the change from the aboriginal extended family. We shall treat the two aspects somewhat separately.[184]

[183] Indeed, the entire present question of a greater emphasis on individual work is closely related to a number of points which follow, including what is described as (II. B. g.) a change in attitudes as to relations of individual and group. Very likely they are all but different facets of a single broad question, and the whole will not be seen well until the various facets have all been analysed.

[184] The distinction between "feasibility" and "desirability" here and elsewhere in this paper relates closely to Homans' "Three elements or determinants of the behavior of individuals in groups," *operations*, *sentiments*, and *interactions*. (Homans, 1947, pp. 13 ff.) "Feasibility" would imply, in Homans' scheme, practically the same thing as operations possible on the environment,

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 182 594 596 621

The feasibility of a change to the elementary family is partly a result of (I.b.) the introduction of metal implements leading to (II. A. c.) greater individual efficiency in agricultural work. At the same time, (II. A. a.) the increased importance of agricultural work has been a reinforcing factor. We have already noted (II. B. c.) that individual work, as opposed to joint or cooperative work, has become more important in agriculture and house-building. Severally, these interrelated factors have made it practicable for smaller domestic units to produce independently for their own consumption the currently recognized goods of the economy. Not only can an elementary family now provide for themselves without fear of too great a fluctuation in food yield from one season to the next, but now there is even a chance of a small surplus for trade. Successful food production in the present smaller family group probably does not entail effort greatly beyond that long characteristic in the culture.

We must now turn to a consideration of why a shift to a basic elementary family was desirable, in the sense in which we have been using the term. This gradual shift in sentiments is closely related to the complex of factors which (II. B. c.) individualized the division of labor. Most notable have been (II. A. e.) the *changa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Both of these activities, as has been shown (see pp. 107–109), tended to emphasize individualistic operations and tended to create conditions in conflict with any other distribution of goods than an individualistic one as in the present elementary family. It may be, in fact, that (II. B. c.) individualization of labor and (II. B. e.) the shift to a basic elementary family are but different facets of the same larger trend; in any event, they are intimately related.

A more general impingement of acculturational factors upon the extended family system involves rules of residence. It is reasonable to assume, even in the lack of detailed facts, that there existed aboriginally a certain relation between the residence rules upon which the extended family was based and the sex division of labor. Perhaps the relation was keyed to a primary importance of women in agriculture; perhaps it was keyed to some other aspect of the sex division of labor. Whatever the key factor(s) for residence, the changed sex division of labor with the new importance of men in agriculture and in production as a whole would almost inevitably be a disturbing element in one sense or another. We can be fairly certain, that is, that the aboriginal division of labor by sex was of some importance and that any basic restructuring of it would make for some important change in the extended family system. So stated,

[121] as well as interactions necessary or possible in the light of such operations. "Desirability" here is clearly Homans' sentiments: for an operation or a different form of interaction to become effective, not only does it have to be feasible in terms of the given technology, social organization, etc., but the sentiments attaching to the older form have to become weak enough for the people to adopt the new mode of behavior.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

VI. SUMMARY AND METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

WAS CAYUÁ ACCULTURATION GRADUAL AND PACIFIC?

A SUMMARY of the acculturation of the Cayuá of Brazil could scarcely fail to point out that these people have not been completely displaced territorially, although they have been located on rather small reservations; nor have they been uprooted culturally, though their sociocultural character has undergone considerable change over several centuries. The local groups of the tribe still live a way of life which presents a picture both of organization and of notable continuity with the aboriginal past. Unfortunately, however, no close comparison of the degree of organization of the modern culture and the aboriginal Cayuá can be made. Such a comparison would justify us in concluding more about the overall effect of acculturation. Nonetheless, it is clear that the Cayuá local groups have not been broken but in fact demonstrate much cohesion.

The Cayuá have not been obliged to turn to some alien economy for their mainstay but for the most part only to modify the relationship among different components of the aboriginal economy. Providentially this was possible with a minimum of stress through adopting white technological traits, principally several metal cutting tools of great agricultural utility. Other than that shift, which was one of degree rather than of kind, the major economic novelty has been agricultural and extractive wage-work for the settler. Even this, however, is limited in its effect. The full list of acculturational changes of the Cayuá is longer, as anyone who has followed the discussion this far will recognize, but those just mentioned include most of the factors of the primary list in the analysis.

Yet it would be easy to be wrong, in casting up an idea of the whole of Cayuá acculturation, if one were to conclude from the present cultural adjustment that the course of change in the past was unmarked by stormier times. The possibility of error is greater the less detail there is of the history of Cayuá contact with whites, and this sort of knowledge is distinctly limited. There are only one or two hints, which unavoidably remain unelaborated, of earlier significant acculturational difficulties. One is the fact that Cayuá migrations of a messianic order took place in the early middle 19th century (see pp. 51–54), and these migrations likely were connected with disturbing influences of white contact. The other hint is less certain and one for which no confirmation was found, that the birth rate of at least some groups of Cayuá was dropping dangerously at one time. Allegedly this went on until it reached such a point that the people themselves became concerned, whereupon they took deliberate steps to correct the situation. According to a local white woman, these steps included public exhortation of the women against the use of contraceptives

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

and abortives, apparently with favorable results. This story may be without any foundation whatsoever—and probably is not literally true at best. But it is just possible that conditions existed at one time in Cayuá history which gave rise to such a truncated and apocryphal tale. It is our very uncertainty in this respect that urges the present caution against predicating much about earlier difficulties and disorganization in the history of Cayuá acculturation. Thus, though the modern Cayuá of Brazil appear to have emerged from their past with a relatively good adjustment of means and ends, this alone does not preclude the chance that the process was at other times more painful.

The primary factors of change mentioned above indeed do not seem sweeping or radical, and the present organization of the Cayuá suggests a tranquil acculturational adjustment; but a confrontation of secondary changes, nonetheless, makes the suggestion of earlier periods of stress appear at least a possibility. The scope of these changes is unmistakable. The secondary effects can be summarized for consideration here without tiresome repetition by considering them from the angle of the changing Cayuá concept of goods. This approach, in fact, might have been adopted before as a means of bringing out important changes and relationships, but it is characteristic of much of present social science analysis that what has been accomplished in one particular manner may equally well be achieved by another. Apparently, there is often no necessary or "natural" mode of treatment or point of departure: any one of a number will serve. In any case, the changing Cayuá concept of goods and its ramifications provides a sufficient key to how far the culture as a whole has changed from the aboriginal and a key for understanding the change.

The first question is: What at present constitute "goods" for the Cayuá? What items does this category include? Here, of course, we find numerous changes, both additions, such as trade goods, and displacements, such as certain types of aboriginal manufactures. If we also consider frequency of use, occurrence, and general significance of goods, more differences between aboriginal and modern goods are seen. Many old items which would still have to be listed as goods, since they are still recognized, are of such rare occurrence and small use as to be radically in contrast with the conditions of the past. Pottery or certain hunting products illustrate this. On the other hand, a number of innovations are of first rate importance, such as metal tools. The point could be elaborated further, each succeeding elaboration only serving to emphasize greater differences.

The second question: What is done to produce or obtain the various goods at present recognized? again reveals certain contrasts of degree and kind with the past. Wage-work, money purchase, and barter are all either relatively or absolutely different from the past as means of obtaining goods. Obviously certain technological operations are also different, even in the more traditional lines of activity, such as agriculture. Far-reaching differences are implied in

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

121
177
178

the use and concept of money and of working for others exclusively for material reward.

The question: Who does the work of production? likewise underlines numerous differences from the past. There are qualitative and quantitative differences in the sexual division of labor, in the true division of labor, with present incipient specialization and alternatives, and in the matter of individual versus joint production by families and wider kinship groupings. Here, along with the changing economic roles of men and women, are shown the replacement of the extended by the elementary family as a producing unit, and the quasi-alternative of participation in different lines of economic endeavor, such as wage-work. These matters are interrelated with and widely ramify into further changes in Cayuá economic and social organization, such as the change in preferential marriage and the decline of polygyny.

Two other questions about the present Cayuá concept of goods in their implications nearly complete the remaining aspects of Cayuá acculturation so far recognised. One question concerns how the goods are distributed, to whom and in consideration of what obligations, exchanges, or reciprocities. The other, closely related to the first, is how modern Cayuá goods may be manipulated. These aspects of the present concept of goods would call for further discussion of the shift from extended to elementary family, the features of contemporary—and probably increasing—individualism, commercialism, the concept of money, and the sale of goods. Also involved are the decline of former gift exchange and mutual helpfulness in favor of economic rationalism, wage-work within the group itself, and money barter of goods to one's friends and kin.

Perhaps the only major secondary effect of the changes that were discussed in Chapter V, which is not included here by implication, is the change in political organization of the local group and the appearance of multiple factions. This change does not actually stand alone, of course, but it is less directly relatable to the changing Cayuá concept of goods, as a point of analysis.

From the foregoing it can readily be concluded that the Cayuá concept of goods has been much changed from the aboriginal. This is true in such matters as (1) what constitute goods, (2) what is done to produce or obtain goods, (3) who produces which goods, (4) to whom and why goods are distributed, and (5) how goods may be employed or manipulated. In each of these respects there are differences both of goods in particular and goods in general when the modern Cayuá are compared with the aboriginal. Taking as a point of departure the changing concept of goods in Cayuá acculturation, then, analysis reveals modifications which are ultimately very far-reaching. The differences which are highlighted appear radical enough to justify some consideration to the contrary of an orderly and tranquil Cayuá acculturation. The argument would be that, since the secondary changes are so extensive, com-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

121 177* 178*

pared to the aboriginal culture, the past may reasonably have been marked by periods or phases of considerable disorganization and stress. Here again the case for deciding between easy or difficult acculturation is not final and conclusive.

Two or three other known factors enter into the case and swing the balance once more to the opposite, however, in favor of the view of tranquil and relatively undisturbed acculturation. As was pointed out earlier, the longstanding Cayuá contact with whites has not been direct or intensive until very recently. Intensive contact of any sort probably did not begin until fairly effective white occupation of the lands of southern Mato Grosso, easily within the last fifty years. Effective penetration from Spanish lands to the south was inhibited by several factors, such as poor means of communication and access, the deflection elsewhere of political and economic interests, and a sparse colonial population. Mission influences of the Jesuit period, though significant, were again not direct or first hand. A very gradual and unhurried acculturation presumably would have resulted enhanced by the fact that white influences were mediated through intervening native groups of culture similar to the Cayuá. The latter factor supposedly had the effect of reducing Cayuá conflicts and disorganization. The general impression, therefore, is of a continuing and successful adjustment to new conditions which only by slow stages became a part of the Cayuá situation and, hence, which produced no crises.

Of course, it might be argued that for the very reason that the earlier contact of the Cayuá was so slow, indirect, and perhaps slight, it might well not have provided much background of acculturation with which to lessen the shock of ultimate direct and intensive contact. This would depend entirely upon the extent and kind of acculturation which had been realised by the time of direct contact, a point upon which information is not available. One can scarcely escape the conclusion, in any case, that some acculturation did occur prior to more recent and intensive contact, and it must almost inevitably have eased the path of later change.[128]

The balance of the argument favors the conclusion that Cayuá acculturation was on the whole slow, pacific, and unmarked by sharp conflicts or periods

---

[128] This statement is not offered as a generalization for acculturation everywhere, but only as applied to the Cayuá case. In the example of the Great Plains of North America it might be argued that prior and indirect acculturational contact of the Indians had a result quite the opposite of facilitating later changes. The Plains Indians took over the horse and other elements as a result of early, mostly indirect influences. They thus turned to a way of life based upon the hunting of buffalo to an extent which would otherwise scarcely have been possible. The change from such a hunting way of life to the reservation settlement ultimately imposed can hardly be considered to have been easier than if the ultimate change had been imposed upon the type of culture aboriginally characteristic of the Plains. The Cayuá case is obviously not parallel since no demonstration whatever can be offered that early acculturation prompted or facilitated a way of life *less* amenable to later acculturational conditions than the aboriginal way of life.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

of great stress; the culture, therefore, manifested at nearly all times a relatively high degree of organization. The possibility cannot be entirely ruled out, however, lacking historical data, that Cayuá acculturation may have been marked by moments of crisis. In consequence of this lack of fuller knowledge of its course, the question may legitimately be raised as to whether or how much we can discuss of Cayuá acculturation. The answer appears to turn about the type of analysis of acculturation which has been attempted in the present monograph.

A NOTE ON THE PROCEDURES EMPLOYED IN THIS STUDY

The point has just been stressed that full data are lacking for certain important aspects of the acculturation of the Cayuá, specifically for such a question as whether the course of change was rough or smooth. A lack of information on many related questions has also been noted throughout the paper. The problem raised by these lacunae is twofold: how was the information available treated to derive the conclusions which have been presented, and how much confidence may be placed in the results?

In the first place, many of the differences between the present and the aboriginal culture of the Cayuá can easily be appraised. Clear-cut qualitative or quantitative modifications stand out, even against the incomplete picture of the aboriginal culture that can be reconstructed; but lesser differences of degree, or perhaps even of kind, must be largely putative, or sometimes unwittingly ignored. So much for the mere roster of changes. Here the account is a much fuller one than in connection with the question of when particular events occurred and under what conditions. The argument of the present paper, therefore, has been much more heavily dependent on data of the former type than on the actual history of change. The data used, moreover, have largely determined the use made of them.

The analysis of Cayuá material, especially in Chapter V, has been characterized as "configurational." What does this mean? For one thing, chronology, either relative or absolute, plays little part in it. The occurrence of changes is noted and their causes are assigned, generally with no mention of either precise dates or the pre- or post-occurrence of other events. (In the Cayuá case, little or nothing usually can be said about the circumstances of such events anyway, other than in reference to the general circumstance or context of the culture to which or in which the events were occurring.) The configurational analysis dwells, first, on identifying factors of cause or effect, and, second, on establishing relationships among causes and effects. Causes of acculturation mean those changes in the total Cayuá environment initially traceable to the presence or influence of members of an alien, European society and which have produced changes in Cayuá culture. All such causes, then, are specifically defined as limited to changes in the situation as a direct conse-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

quence of whites. Effects distinguished herein, of course, are of two kinds, primary or immediate, and secondary or derived, the latter reflecting the more complete adjustment process or ramification of change within the indigenous culture. Where possible, relationships among causes and effects are distinguished as initiatory, on the one hand, or merely contributory, on the other. This distinction is not possible in many cases, however, where chronology, which is usually a key, is unknown.

The configurational treatment has the result of telescoping chronological differences among acculturational trends and factors. The time of manifestation of effects, and the shifting relative effectiveness of causes are not, for the most part, the concern of the analysis. A sort of composite picture of the range and number of trends is thus presented and the several trends are traced only in their causal interrelationships.

Yet the configurational analysis cannot completely eschew chronology, since without it one is handicapped for the fullest possible discussion of causality. Where one factor or trend can be known to have manifested itself earlier than another, there are surer grounds for the assessment of a causal relationship. Temporal priority of a trend, however, does not completely determine causality, but it may be crucial to the question of whether a causal relationship is initiatory or merely contributory. For instance, there can be little doubt that the Cayuá bartering of surplus agricultural produce for trade goods is causally related to the increasing scale of agriculture. The priority of the increasing scale of agriculture as a trend, therefore, does not destroy the argument of a causal relationship, but it does establish that agricultural barter could only be contributory—not initiatory—to the former trend. The configurational analysis of Cayuá acculturation thus lays heavy emphasis upon the assessment of causal relationships, and, for this very reason, the few chronological data available, not in themselves primarily important, are used to help specify causal relationships among factors and trends.

In view of the discussion of causal relationship and chronology, two questions logically raised at this point are (a) how causes and effects are determined, and (b) how relationships among them are established. Practically, these questions are almost inseparable since it is partly with respect to the detection of a causal relationship that a cause is specified. The procedure actually begins with the study of effects of acculturation. Many of these are easily determined, as has been mentioned above, through comparison of the modern culture with the best available reconstruction of the aboriginal. The major effects thus stand out, though minor effects of acculturation may be overlooked. This much is fairly obvious and quite the standard procedure in acculturation study or in the study of culture change in general. Now causes, at least some of the more evident ones, might be specified from available history of the influence of whites upon Indians, as well as from the knowledge of

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

121 white culture, generally. But not every aspect of white culture, of course—
128 not even every cultural difference between it and the indigenous culture—
177 enters as a definable cause into the acculturation of the native group; and the
178 history of contact is not a sufficient guide to causality without a joint consideration of what modifications actually occur in the native culture. Thus, in the specification of causes, the history of contact and the ethnography of the European group are always accompanied by the consideration of changes in Cayuá culture and of what possible relationships of causality pertain to them. Ultimately, therefore, one comes to the question of how causality is to be determined.

The method of determining the relationship between causes and effects of acculturation is implicit in much of the discussion of Chapter V. A number of considerations, logical, functional, and chronological-historical, enter in, as well as the projection of present relationships back into the past. Any or all of these considerations are raised for whatever light they may throw upon the nature and direction of trends. An example of a causal relationship predicated upon logical grounds is that between availability of the machete, as a cause, and its adoption and influence in the increasing scale of agriculture, as effects or phases of a trend (see p. 98). The functional consideration, which is closely akin to the logical, suggests the influence of the individualistic tendencies of wage-work, for example, upon joint economic usages of the extended family type (see pp. 108–109). The historical and chronological consideration indicates influence of the SPI upon the Cayuá, such as their assignment to reservations, and the centralization of political authority (see pp. 121–123). An illustration of projecting present relationships backward in time is the consideration of contemporary residence patterns in relation to the consequent need for shelters in some agricultural clearings (*paiois*). This present relationship is suggested as possible evidence of the origin of such shelters in Cayuá culture (see pp. 86–87). (The inherent dangers of projecting present relationships back into the past, by the way, are also well illustrated by the example of agricultural field shelters. The acculturational origin of these shelters could only be tentatively postulated in this manner, and was far from being proven.) These examples of the different considerations suggest how putative causes may be related, with varying degrees of certainty, to given effects of acculturation.

Two things remain to be pointed out about this method of establishing causality. First, in most actual cases no one of the foregoing considerations, logical, functional, historical, or reconstructive, would be employed singly; usually more than one is employed—all if possible. Bringing to bear various considerations upon a possible causal relationship, particularly if the indications lead to mutual confirmation, seems to hold a reasonable guarantee of correctness. This raises the second point, that there is no bias in favor of single

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

causes—quite the contrary. Indeed, most trends have been assigned more than one cause. Moreover, there has been no general attempt, especially in doubtful cases, to assess the relative importance or temporal priority of different causes of a given trend or effect—whether they were related merely as contributory or as initiatory causes. If strong evidence is lacking, the analysis stops at merely indicating the presence of a causal relationship of unspecified importance, between two factors. Other than the lack of a prominent concern with chronology, therefore, the essential difference between the configurational analysis and conventional historical treatment may be the latter's constant assessment of relative causal importance.

The foregoing description of the method, or configurational analysis, employed in the present paper is not meant as an unqualified recommendation of it. The analysis has obvious shortcomings and is certainly not proposed as a substitute for a fuller and more conventional treatment of acculturation whenever the necessary data are to be had. As suggested earlier, the present approach to the study of Cayuá acculturation has been largely dictated by the fact that many data essential to a more conventional, historical treatment are actually unavailable. Without these data not only can less be done in the treatment of the problem, but at many points there can only be less confidence in the conclusions suggested. It was necessary, nevertheless, to employ an analysis which could make maximum use of the kind of data available. At the same time, the analysis had to be one which would be handicapped to the minimum by the lack of full historical information of the time and circumstances under which many critical acculturational events occurred. The configurational analysis, largely omitting the chronological element and questions of the relative causal importance of factors, is the result.

In spite of shortcomings, however, the analysis has some partly self-corrective qualities which compensate for whatever risk there may be in assessing causes without complete historical data. For one thing, all known effects of acculturation are listed insofar as the culture was studied. The listing of effects or changes is reasonably certain, of course, the only source of error being inaccuracy or incompleteness of information about the aboriginal and modern cultures. All discoverable and putative major causes of acculturation are similarly listed and are fairly reliable, depending upon history, white ethnography, and so forth. This much is practically all that some studies of acculturation attempt and it is probably of some use by itself. The "cement" or relationships of cause and effect is what has further been supplied by the present analysis, via the logico-functional-historical-reconstructive considerations described. The risk in this operation, however, is again limited since in doubtful cases no attempt is made to assess the relative importance of different causes mutually related to a given effect. Thus the analysis is somewhat modest in what it attempts with modest data.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

121 128 177 178

What does the configurational analysis accomplish and what are its limits? Given an emphasis on process, there appear to be two major problems of acculturation study. One of these has to do with the "Why?", so to speak, and the other with the "What?". The first problem is concerned with why the given causes, and only the given causes, were effective in producing change. In other words, why, of all the cultural differences, and hence potential causes of acculturation, between the donor and receptor cultures, do just the particular causes registered become effective? This appears to be a theoretical problem of the first water in the study of acculturation, but it has been largely ignored in the present monograph.

The second problem deals with what changes actually take place and the process through which they are realized. This has been the preoccupation throughout in the study of Cayuá acculturation. To this problem the configurational analysis seems fairly well adapted, and it highlights the direction of culture change. Considering present and past trends in their causation—as complete as possible—gives a fuller basis for prediction or extrapolation of known direction into the future. Present and past trends in the light of causal factors also provide a fuller understanding of the dynamic qualities of Cayuá culture. In this way can be seen the latent potentialities of the culture as revealed by their expression through time under these certain conditions. The synchronic study of a culture is, by contrast, truncated: it affords only a more limited idea of what sort of future or past is probable, and the element of control is necessarily foreshortened. Here then, if anywhere, is a vital contribution that studies of culture change, including acculturation, can make to the completer understanding of cultures in particular and culture in general. The configurational analysis represented in this monograph purports to make such a contribution if only one which is limited because of limited data.

175
412
177
313

/33 cont./
is missing in the original text./

5. Ibid., p. 5.

121 The discussion of the kinship system of the Cayuá can be divided into two distinct parts, kinship terminology and kinship behavior. The kinship behavior will be discussed first in terms of the life cycle and then in terms of reciprocal behavior.

Kinship Terminology

128 The charts I, II, and III[1] represent diagrams of the kinship
601 terminology of the Cayuá. Portuguese terms /translated into English for Chart I/ are used in these diagrams for simplification. The Cayuá terms are brought together in Chart IV.[2]

601 The kinship system is classificatory, since the relatives of the lineage and the collateral ones are put together in the same class. The father's brother is classified with the father, and the mother's sister is classified with the mother, while the mother's brother and the father's sister are designated with distinct terms. The grandparents are distinguished only according to sex, and the terms that denominate the grandparents are also extended to their "siblings" (6).

6. "Siblings" are brothers and sisters who have the same mother and the same father.

All the grandchildren are put together in one class without any distinction, not even as to sex. In the generation of Ego the older brother is distinguished from the younger brother, and the older sister from the younger sister. These designations are extended to the /34/ parallel and cross cousins. The brother's children are son and daughter in the words of the man, and nephew and niece in the words of the woman. All the children of sons and daughters and nephews and nieces are grandchildren.

[1] [pp. 20 and 21 of translated text--analyst]
[2] [pp. 22 and 23 of translated text--analyst]

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kinship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a certain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law. For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband, and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex). For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law. The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first descending generation, while the man does not make this distinc-
•[121] tion, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One
[174] possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family (7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupi /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guarani, or rather Tupi, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

/43 cont./

604 This relationship is likewise extended to the immediate degrees, diminishing in intensity with the extension.

Concerning the two conditions of kinship discussed last, it should perhaps be remembered that the author's data are less complete than they might be, since the six informants, all male, did not have either a sister of the father or a brother of the mother in the aldeia, and only one of them had a sister with a son.

606 Father-in-law and mother-in-law and son-in-law and daughter-in-law: This relationship varies among the Cayuá, but in a gen-
[178] eral way one can say that it is one of mutual respect. Nowadays they do not avoid each other. The son-in-law or daughter-in-law might be in more or less intimate contact with the parents-in-law, which depends on such circumstances as the greater or lesser proximity between the two homes or the degree to which the son-in-law or daughter-in-law receives economic aid from the parents-in-law.

602 The Cayuá recognize very remote relations bilaterally, which do not seem to be accentuated more on the paternal side than on the maternal one, and not infrequently there are persons in the aldeia who are related to the majority of the inhabitants of the aldeia, without always being able to trace the genealogy of the
[173] relationship, however. It is not an unusual thing for a person not to know the names of the grandparents in case they are dead, or of aunts and uncles who are deceased or inhabitants of another aldeia.

Conclusion

•121 From what we have just presented, it can easily be seen that
601 there exists in the kinship system of the Cayuá, in a general way,
602 a close relation between the terminology and the behavior. Each /44/ person knows what his attitude and his behavior in relation to any person of the group designated by this or that kinship term must be, whether one person or another.

/44 cont./

601 The Cayuá kinship system is a relatively simple classificatory system, which is based on the genealogical principle and in which the kinship terms are extended bilaterally. All the members of Ego's generation are classified as brothers and sisters, being differentiated according to age. In the first descending generation the son or the daughter of some person designated as brother is called son or daughter in the words of the man, and nephew or niece in the words of the woman, whereas the son or daughter of some person designated as sister is a nephew or niece in relation to the man, and son or daughter to the woman. In the second descending generation all the sons and daughters of sons and daughters and of nephews and nieces are called grandchildren. In the first ascending generation, the mother is classified with the mother's sister, while the father and the father's brother are classified with the mother's brother and the father's sister, but designated with distinct terms. The relatives of the second ascending generation, including the grandparents and the "siblings," are differentiated only in relation to sex. This system, although simple, can be considered well balanced, since it establishes the relations between the persons of the community in such a way that a minimum of friction resulted.

Problems for Future Research

128 The present discussion of the Cayuá kinship system is limited to the manner in which this system is manifested and applied in the habitual relations between persons. A certain number of problems also related to this aspect have already been discussed. The relations between the kinship system and the religion and the economic institutions were considered very little. The latter will be studied in another work.

• 121 178 60 433 182 Besides this there remains more or less untouched a problem of historical order, that is, the one of the manner in which the kinship system was affected by the change that took place in the

/44 cont./

121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
182 that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
60 indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
433 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the mater-
nal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the
men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes
beyond the scope of the present article.

191 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
175 early as the sixteenth century (9)

582 9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação
604 dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil
[113] /Information about the marriages of the
Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures
organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and
mimeographed by the Escola Livre de
Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113] 10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena
/Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908,
p. 11.

582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of
124

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

THE GUARANÍ

By Alfred Métraux

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The area inhabited by the *Guaraní* (map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7) has shrunk considerably since the 16th century. Today the *Guaraní* who have preserved their cultural identity form isolated islands in Paraguay and southern Brazil. The subtribes mentioned by Spanish conquistadors and missionaries have disappeared, and the names which designate modern *Guaraní* groups are fairly recent and appear in the literature only in the 18th century. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with ancient and modern *Guaraní* as if they were separate entities. The *Guaraní* language, however, is still spoken by Mestizos, or acculturated Indians, in most of the territory where it was used at the time of the Conquest. The rural population of Paraguay is often called *Guaraní*. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion between these modern civilised *Guaraní* and their primitive contemporaries, we shall always refer to the latter as *Caingud*.

Guaraní of the 16th and 17th centuries.—The *Guaraní* were first known as *Carijó* or *Cario*, but the name *Guaraní* finally prevailed in the 17th century. At this time, the *Guaraní* were the masters of the Atlantic Coast from Barra de Cananea to Rio Grande do Sul, (lat. 26°–33° S., long. 48°–52° W.) and from there their groups extended to the Paraná, Uruguay, and Paraguay Rivers.

Guaraní groups, called by the early chroniclers "Guaraní de las islas," *Chandris*, or *Chandules*, lived in the 16th century on the islands of the Río de la Plata, and on the southern side of the Paraná Delta from San Isidro to the vicinity of the Carcarañá River (lat. 34° S., long. 58° W.) There were some *Guaraní* enclaves along the Uruguayan shore, at Martín Chico, and from San Lazaro to San Salvador. Pottery vessels of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin have been found near San Francisco Soriano and Concordia in Uruguay, on the island of Martín García and at Arroyo Malo, between the Luján River and the Paraná de las Palmas River.

On the eastern side of the Uruguay River, the borderline between the *Charrua* and the bulk of the *Guaraní* nation ran near Yapeyú. On the

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

HISTORIC INFLUENCES AND CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY OF A SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBE *

James B. WATSON
Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo

Location

The Cayuá are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and *reservas* of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, a federal agency. All the Cayuá area now lies between the great Rio Parana and the Rio Paraguay (see map), and Rengger's account [1] indicates that this area has been their traditional location since well over a hundred years ago. Shortly after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, the Cayuá territory seems to have been extended farther to the north and to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that this move-

* Between the months of July and November, 1943, the writer and his wife, in company with two students from the anthropological staff of the Museu Nacional of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, studied the life — largely the economic aspects — of a group of Cayuá (also written Caiguá, Caingá, Cainguá, Caiowa, Cayowá, Kaaiwá, Kaingá, Kainguá, etc.) in the south of the state of Mato Grosso, almost on the Paraguayan frontier. This field work was in collaboration with the Museu Nacional and under the sponsorship of Dona Heloisa Alberto Torres, the director of that notable Brazilian institution. The writer was enabled to participate through a fellowship grant of the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores, and a very great debt is acknowledged for the assistance and cooperation of both of these organs of the Brazilian federal government as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, which admirably cooperated with us in the field.

[1] Rengger, Dr. J. B., *Reise nach Paraguay*, in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826 (aus des Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachlasse herausgegeben von A. Rengger) (Aarau, 1835).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

184
182
476
177
434
121
177
178

purely economic utility of the *puxirão* institution is likely to be the principal consideration rather than its "social values". The non-peon also may not have as much need of a *puxirão* because he works only in his own *roça* and therefore does more of the work himself.

The foregoing, it is hoped, may serve to give some idea not only of who and how many are the Cayuá but more especially of some of their historical background, certain and inferential, and of some of the forces which have been or still are at work in respect to the economic features of their culture. The question of Jesuit contact and the importance of such influences, if they did occur, was discussed. Described as negative factors making for an increasingly important agriculture were the long-range economic effects of the diminution of Cayuá territory and the loss of Cayuá mobility, the disappearance of the canoe; as positive factors were emphasized the stability made possible in the white "guarantee" of relative safety from attack, and the white introduction of metal tools of much higher efficiency in agriculture. A possible tendency toward less joint work and more individual work was suggested. And as a contributing factor to this "individualization", as well as to the introduction of a "commercial" type of thinking, the Cayuá contact with whites through their present system of peonage was pointed out. It would be interesting to observe the results of some of these forces or the outcome of the trends tentatively identified, say ten, twenty, or fifty years hence.

São Paulo, Brasil.